

VIA ELECTRONIC AND FIRST CLASS MAIL

Charles R. Spies, Esq. Clark Hill, PLC 601 Pennsylvania Ave NW North Building, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20004

. AUG 1 5 2017

RE: MUR 6860

Terri Lynn Land for Senate and

Kathy Vosburg in her official capacity as

treasurer;

Terri Lynn Land;

Dan Hibma

Dear Mr. Spies:

Based on a complaint and on information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities, on June 16, 2016, the Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") found reason to believe that your clients violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(A) and (f) and 30104(b)(3)(A), and authorized entering into pre-probable cause conciliation with your clients. Although we engaged in some conciliation discussions, on January 5, 2017, you informed us that your clients wished to end pre-probable cause conciliation.

Therefore, after considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that violations of the Act have occurred.

The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation. Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within 15 days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (ten copies if possible) stating your clients' position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. (Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, if possible.) The General Counsel's brief and any brief which you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote of whether there is probable cause to believe a violation has occurred.

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If you are unable to file a responsive brief within 15 days, you may submit a written request for an extension of time. All requests for extensions of time must be submitted in writing five days prior to the due date, and good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days and may require that your clients toll the running of statute of limitations before granting such an extension.

In addition, you may also request an oral hearing before the Commission. See Procedural Rules for Probable Cause Hearings, 72 Fed. Reg. 64919 (Nov. 19, 2007) and Amendment of Agency Procedures for Probable Cause Hearings, 74 Fed. Reg. 55443 (Oct. 28, 2009). Hearings are voluntary, and no adverse inference will be drawn by the Commission based on a respondent's decision not to request such a hearing. Any request for a hearing must be submitted along with your reply brief and must state with specificity why the hearing is being requested and what issues you expect to address. The Commission will notify you within 30 days of your request for a hearing as to whether or not the request has been granted. If you request a probable cause hearing, the Commission may request that you toll the statute of limitations in connection with that hearing. Id. at 64,920.

A finding of probable cause to believe requires that the Office of the General Counsel attempt for a period of not less than 30, but not more than 90 days, to settle this matter through a conciliation agreement. If we are unable to reach an agreement after 30 days, the Commission may institute a civil suit in United States District Court and seek payment of a civil penalty. See 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(6)(A).

Should you have any questions, please contact Ana Peña-Wallace, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Lisa J. Stevenson Acting General Counsel

Enclosure Brief

1 2	BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION					
3	In the Matter of)					
4 5 6 7 8	Terri Lynn Land for Senate and Kathy Vosburg in her official capacity as treasurer) Terri Lynn Land) Dan Hibma)					
9 10	GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF					
11	I. STATEMENT OF THE CASE					
12	The Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") received a sua sponte submission					
-13	and a complaint regarding \$700,000 in contributions that 2014 U.S. Senate candidate Terri Lynn					
14	Land made to her own authorized campaign committee, Terri Lynn Land for Senate and Kathy					
15	Vosburg in her official capacity as treasurer (the "Committee"). According to information in the					
16	complaint and submission, Land lacked sufficient personal funds to make the contributions to her					
17	campaign so her spouse, Dan Hibma, provided her with the funds. Based on this information, the					
18	Commission found reason to believe that Hibma violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A) by making					
19	excessive contributions, Land and the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) by accepting					
20	those excessive contributions, and the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(A) by					
21	inaccurately reporting the source of the \$700,000.					
22	As set forth below, Respondents admit that Land did not have sufficient funds in her					
23	personal checking account to make the \$700,000 in contributions to the Committee and that					
24	Hibma wired funds from his own personal account for the purpose of covering those draws from					
25	Land's account. Accordingly, the record indicates that Hibma made \$700,000 in excessive					
26	contributions to Land. Thus, the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that					
27	the Commission find probable cause to believe that Hibma violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A)					

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- by making excessive contributions, Land and the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) by
- 2 accepting those excessive contributions, and the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(A) by
- 3 inaccurately reporting the source of the \$700,000.

II. FACTS

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declared her candidacy on July 10, 2013 and designated Terri Lynn Land for Senate as her

authorized committee.¹ On August 1, 2013, Land filed her 2013 Personal Financial Disclosure

Report ("PFD Report") with the Senate, covering January 1, 2012 to July 30, 2013. Land's 2013

Terri Lynn Land was a candidate for U.S. Senate in Michigan in the 2014 election. She

9 PFD Report identified liquid assets valued between \$116,003 and \$315,000, and other assets
10 valued between \$647,008 and \$1.38 million. On May 15, 2014, Land filed her 2014 PFD Report
11 covering January 1, 2013 to May15, 2014. Her 2014 PFD Report identified liquid assets valued

13 According to the Committee's disclosure reports, by July 2014, Land had made a total of 14 \$2.9 million in contributions to the Committee as follows:

between \$45,003 and \$150,000, and other assets valued between \$646,007 and \$1.356 million.

Date	Amount	Disclosure Report
08/13/2013	\$50,000	2013 October Quarterly
09/30/2013	\$100,000	2013 October Quarterly
09/30/2013	\$100,000	2013 October Quarterly
09/30/2013	\$750,000	2013 October Quarterly
12/31/2013	\$600,000	2013 Year-End
03/31/2014	\$100,000	2014 April Quarterly
06/30/2014	\$1,200,000	2014 July Quarterly
Total	\$2,900,000.00	

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- 1 These receipts were disclosed as contributions from the candidate.² The Committee's disclosure
- 2 reports also show that Land's husband, Dan Hibma, made two contributions of \$2,600 each to
- 3 Land's campaign on July 1, 2013.³
- 4 The Respondents acknowledge that Land did not have sufficient personal funds to make
- 5 all the contributions described above. They specifically admit that Land wrote checks drawn on
 - her personal checking account to make a \$600,000 contribution on December 31, 2013, and a
- 7 \$100,000 contribution on March 31, 2014, but at the time she wrote the checks, her personal
- 8 bank account did not contain sufficient funds to cover either of those draws.⁴ In a sworn
- 9 affidavit Hibma states that on December 31, 2013, he wired \$610,000 from his personal checking
- account, held solely in his name, to Land's personal checking account, held solely in her name,
- 11 "for the purpose of providing funds for a check for her authorized committee, Terri Lynn Land
- for Senate." Similarly, on March 31, 2014, he wired \$100,000 from his personal checking
- account to Land's personal checking account "for the purpose of providing funds for a check for
- 14 \$100,000 for her authorized committee, Terri Lynn Land for Senate."6

Terri Lynn Land for Senate, 2013 October Quarterly Report (Oct. 14, 2013), 2013 Year-End Report (Jan. 31, 2014), 2014 April Quarterly Report (Apr. 15, 2014) and 2014 July Quarterly Report (July 15, 2014).

Terri Lynn Land for Senate, 2013 October Quarterly Report (Oct. 14, 2013).

See Sua Sponte at 2.

⁵ Affidavit of Dan Hibma ¶ 2 (May 19, 2017).

⁶ *Id.* ¶ 3.

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

2	A.	There is Probable Cause to Believe that Hibma made, and Land and the
3		Committee Accepted, Excessive Contributions in Violation of the Act

The Act provides that no person shall make contributions to any federal candidate and his or her authorized political committee aggregating in excess of the contribution limit designated for each election cycle, which was \$2,600 for the 2014 election cycle. The Act further provides that no candidate or candidate committee shall knowingly accept excessive contributions.

Although candidates may themselves make unlimited contributions from their own "personal funds" to their authorized campaign committees, ¹⁰ the Act's contribution limits apply to family members, including spouses. In *Buckley v. Valeo*, the United States Supreme Court stated that Congress may subject a candidate's family members to the Act's contribution limits. ¹¹

13 The Court cited to the legislative history of the Act, stating:

It is the intent of the conferees that members of the immediate family of any candidate shall be subject to the contribution limitations established by this legislation. ... The immediate family member would be permitted merely to make contributions to the candidate in amounts not greater than \$1,000 for each election involved. ¹²

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⁷ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1), (c).

⁸ See 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.1(b)(1)(i), 110.17(b).

⁹ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f).

See 11 C.F.R. § 110.10. "Personal funds" include: (a) amounts derived from assets that, under applicable State law, at the time the individual became a candidate, the candidate had legal right of access to or control over, and to which the candidate had legal and rightful title or an equitable interest; (b) income received during the current election cycle, which includes salary from employment, income from investments, and "gifts of a personal nature that had been customarily received by the candidate prior to the beginning of the election cycle"; and (c) a portion of assets that are jointly owned by the candidate and spouse. 52 U.S.C. § 30101(26); see also 11 C.F.R. § 100.33.

¹¹ 424 U.S. 1, 53 n. 59 (1976).

¹² Id. at 52 n.57 (citing to S. Conf. Rep. No. 93-1237, p. 58 (1974), U.S. Code Cong. & Admin. News 1974, p. 5627.).

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1 The Court added, "[a]lthough the risk of improper influence is somewhat diminished in the case

2 of large contributions from immediate family members, we cannot say that the danger is

3 sufficiently reduced to bar Congress from subjecting family members to the same limitations as

nonfamily contributors." In numerous past cases, the Commission has conciliated with

respondents where spouses or other family members made excessive contributions to the

6 candidate's campaign. 14

None of the funds in question here constitute Land's "personal funds" under the Act.

Respondents admit that Hibma provided \$710,000 of his own personal funds to Land for the purpose of covering checks she wrote to make \$700,000 in contributions to her federal campaign committee. These funds were wired well after Land had already become a candidate, and were provided because Land's personal account, held solely in her name, lacked adequate funds to cover the checks she issued in December 2013 and March 2014. Notably, Hibma wired these funds from an account held solely in his name, after he had already contributed the maximum amount permitted by the Act to the Committee for the 2014 election cycle. Under these circumstances, there is probable cause to believe that Hibma made, and Land and the Committee knowingly accepted, excessive contributions in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A) and (f).

¹³ Id. at 53 n.59.

See, e.g., MUR 6417 (Huffman) (conciliation with candidate's spouse); MUR 5348 (Condon) (conciliation with candidate's father); MURs 5334, 5341, and 5524 (O'Grady) (conciliation with candidate's spouse); MUR 5429 (Weiner) (reason to believe findings against candidate's parents but did not conciliate with them due to expiration of the statute of limitations); and MUR 5138 (Ferguson) (conciliation with candidate's parents).

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1	В.	There is Probable Cause to Believe that the Committee Failed to Report a
2		\$700,000 Contribution from Hibma
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The Act requires committee treasurers to file reports of receipts and disbursements. 15

- 5 These reports must include, inter alia, the identification of each person who makes a contribution
- 6 or contributions that have an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 during an election
- 7 cycle, in the case of an authorized committee of a federal candidate, together with the date and
- 8 amount of any such contribution. 16

9 Here, the Committee's 2013 Year-End Report and 2014 April Quarterly Report identify

10 Land as the contributor of both contributions. Because Land used funds derived from assets

belonging solely to Hibma to make the \$700,000 in contributions to her campaign, the

12 Committee should have identified those as contributions from Hibma and not Land. Therefore,

there is probable cause to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(A) by

inaccurately identifying the contributor of those funds in its reports filed with the Commission.

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¹⁵ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b).

Id. § 30104(b)(3)(A).

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IV. CONCLUSION

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2	Based on the foregoing, the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that
3	there is probable cause to believe that Dan Hibma violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A); that Terri
4	Lynn Land and Terri Lynn Land for Senate and Kathy Vosburg in her official capacity as
5	treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f); and that Terri Lynn Land for Senate and Kathy Vosburg
6	in her official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(A).
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Ana J. Peña-Wallace Attorney